

Message Text

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S E C R E T NICOSIA 2088

USCINCEUR FOR POLAD

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OREP (RICHARDSON, WILLIAM,BRYEN, STEPHEN)

SUBJ: STAFFDEL RICHARDSON/BRYEN

REF: NICOSIA 1983 (DTG 161539Z JUL 76)

1. STAFFDEL DEPARTED CYPRUS EVENING JULY 21 FOLLOWING USEFUL AND PRODUCTIVE FOUR-DAY EXPOSURE TO THE PROBLEMS, PERSONALITIES, VAGARIES AND COMPLEXITIES OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THEY LEFT WITH A SENSE OF THE DEEP HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC ROOTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, THE UNLIKELIHOOD OF ANY MEANINGFUL PROGRESS IN THE NEAR FUTURE IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH SIDES FOR THIS IMPASSE. IT IS ALSO OUR IMPRESSION THAT THEIR PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS ARE THAT THE INITIAL LINKING OF THE EMBARGO WITH CYPRUS PROBLEM WAS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, THAT A STRONG

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AND STABLE SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH TURKEY IS OF THE UTMOST

IMPORTANCE, AND THAT PRACTICAL AND POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS REQUIRE SIMULTANEOUS CONSIDERATION OF THE GREEK AND TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS.

2. IN COURSE OF INTENSIVE FOUR-DAY PROGRAM STAFFDEL MET WITH NEARLY ALL POLITICAL LEADERS ON THE ISLAND, JOURNALISTS, AND PEOPLE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF GOVERNMENT. MAKARIOS AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHRISTOPHIDES OUTLINED FAMILIAR GREEK CYPRIOT POSITIONS AND POINTEDLY EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO BOTH THE GREEK AND THE TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENTS. (INTERESTINGLY STAFFDEL REACTED NEGATIVELY TO SUBSEQUENT AND WHAT HE TERMED "OVERBEARING" ATTITUDE OF GOC SPOKESMAN WHO SAID HE HOPED ARCHBISHOP'S STATEMENT ON THE DCA "HAD BEEN HELPFUL TO THE STAFFDEL'S MISSION.")

3. STAFFDEL SPENT TOTAL OF SIX HOURS WITH DENKTASH, FOUR AT INFORMAL LUNCHEON ON SUNDAY AND TWO THE FOLLOWING DAY IN DENKTASH'S OFFICE AND TOUR OF TURKISH HOUSING FORCIBLY ABANDONED TO GREEKS FOLLOWING 1963 INTERCOMMUNAL VIOLENCE. DENKTASH PRESENTED POSITIONS FAMILIAR TO US (BUT NOT TO CONGRESS). IN ELOQUENT, VIGOROUS AND BALANCED MANNER WHICH DEEPLY IMPRESSED STAFFDEL AND LED THEM TO COMMENT SUBSEQUENTLY THAT DENKTASH AND AMBASSADOR TZOUNIS WERE THE MOST IMPRESSIVE INDIVIDUALS THEY HAD MET ON THE TRIP. STAFFDEL POINTED OUT THAT TURKISH SIDE WAS NOT WELL UNDERSTOOD IN WASHINGTON AND THAT SEEMING INFLEXIBILITY EVEN ON MINOR ISSUES WAS DAMAGING AND TURKISH CASE AND UNDERMINING THE ARGUMENTS OF THOSE WHO WANTED TO MOVE QUICKLY ON PASSING THE DCA. THEY STRESSED THAT MISSING PERSONS PROBLEM WAS IN PARTICULAR CAUSING DIFFICULTIES AND, HAVING HEARD DENKTASH EXPLAIN BACKGROUND OF MANY OF THE ATROCITIES AND EQUALLY BRUTAL GREEK ACTIONS, URGED THAT TURKS TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO INVITE AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL TO INVESTIGATE THE SITUATION. STAFFDEL ALSO VIGOROUSLY URGED THE TURKS TO DO WHAT THEY COULD TO GET SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS GOING AND TO AID THIS PROCESS BY DEVELOPING A MAP WHICH COULD SERVE AS AN INITIAL POSITION IN TERRITORIAL DISCUSSIONS. SINCE EXTENSIVE CRITERIA HAD ALREADY BEEN PUT FORWARD AND SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR THE RETURN OF GREEK REFUGEES TO CERTAIN AREAS SOUTH OF THE NEW FAMAGUSTA ROAD HAD ALREADY BEEN MADE IN VIENNA II THEY ASKED WHY THE TURKS COULD NOT FORMULATE A MAP EMBODY-

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ING THIS EARLIER PROPOSAL, THUS PUTTING THE BALL IN THE GREEK COURT AND HELPING TO ELIMINATE THE IMPRESSION THAT TURKS WERE BEING UNREASONABLE AND INTRANSIGENT.

4. COMMUNIST LEADER PAPAIOANNOU AND "SOCIALIST" LYSSARIDES SPEWED RESENTMENT AT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ON CYPRUS, MADE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN VIEWS OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE MORE ENLIGHTENED CONGRESS, DENOUNCED CLERIDES AND HIS DEFEATIST

APPROACH, AND PREDICTABLY FAVORED INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE CYPRUS QUESTION. DEMOCRATIC FRONT LEADER SPYROS KYPRIANOU DRONED ON FOR AN HOUR, FOCUSING ON INTERNAL QUESTIONS, PRO-MAKARIOS STANCE, AND HIS OPTIMISM ABOUT HIS ELECTORAL PROSPECTS IN SEPTEMBER. KYPRIANOU SAID HE CONCEIVED OF HIS PARTY AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE LEFT AND THAT THOSE WHO FELT THAT HIS PARTY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE POPULAR FRONT WITH LYSSARIDES AND THE COMMUNIST REPRESENTED A SHIFT TO THE LEFT MISUNDERSTOOD HIS PARTY.

5. GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS STRESSED THAT MAKARIOS WAS A MAN OF THE WEST AND NOT THE "CASTRO OF THE MEDITERRANEAN" AS MANY AMERICANS APPARENTLY BELIEVED. REGARDING THE DCA, HE TOOK THE LINE THAT CONGRESS SHOULD EITHER REJECT BOTH OR ACCEPT BOTH. CLERIDES, FOR HIS PART, OUTLINED HIS VIEWS ON THE HANDLING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IN RESPONSE TO STAFFDEL'S QUESTION, SAID THAT WHILE MANY WOULD CONSIDER HIM TREASONOUS, HE BELIEVED THAT IT WAS ABSOLUTELY IMPERATIVE FOR CONGRESS TO APPROVE THE TURKISH DCA IN THE INTEREST OF PROGRESS ON CYPRUS AND PEACE IN THE AREA.

6. STAFFDEL ALSO WAS GREATLY IMPRESSED WITH GREEK CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR (AND NOW HOUSE PRESIDENT) TASSPS PAPADOPOULOS, WHO ARTICULATEDLY PRESENTED GOC POSITION AND SAID U.S. "INSULTS OUR INTELLIGENCE" BY ARGUING THAT PASSAGE OF THE TURKISH DCA WOULD PUT US IN BETTER POSITION TO INFLUENCE TURKEY TO BE FLEXIBLE ON CYPRUS. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING LUNCHEON MEETING WITH CYPRUS BROADCASTING CORPORATION DIRECTOR GENERAL CHRISTOPHIDES, A LEADING INTELLECTUAL AND ONE OF CYPRUS' MOST ASTUTE POLITICAL OBSERVERS, PROVIDED CONTRASTING VIEW. SAID CHRISTOPHIDES: "EMOTIONALLY I AM AGAINST PASSAGE OF THE TURKISH DCA BUT RATIONALLY IT IS NECESSARY, FOR IT IS THE ONLY WAY THE U.S. CAN PRESERVE LEVERAGE WITH TURKEY SO THAT IT CAN EXERT
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CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCE. HE ADDED THAT PUBLICLY, TO BE EFFECTIVE, AND THERE COULD BE NO DIRECT LINKAGE BETWEEN THE DCA AND CYPRUS BUT THERE SHOULD BE A FIRM AND STRICTLY PRIVATE UNDERSTANDING THAT PASSAGE OF THE DCA WOULD HAVE TO BE FOLLOWED BY RAPID AND MEANINGFUL PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THE CYPRUS IMBROGLIO. CRAWFORD

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